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THE
APPEAL of REASON
TO THE
PEOPLE of ENGLAND,
ON THE
Present STATE of PARTIES in
the Nation.



L O N D O N:

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1. The first group of people who are interested in the study of the history of the world are the historians. They are people who study the past and try to understand what happened and why it happened. They use a variety of sources, including books, documents, and artifacts, to reconstruct the past. They also try to understand the people who lived in the past and how they thought and felt. Historians are interested in the lives of people from all times and places, and they try to understand the world as it was and how it has changed over time.

P R E F A C E.

A PAMPHLET on the side of a Great Man, is generally supposed, if the author is supposed to have any address, to speak his sentiments. If this pamphlet was supposed to speak the sentiments of the Noble Person so often mentioned in it, it would give offence to many. I know some liberties taken in it, will offend himself.

But whatever these are, (for which I make no apology) they cannot be imputed to him. What follows was wrote, under the first impression which his resignation made on my mind, without his suggestion: It is published without his knowledge; and the name of its author is as unknown to him, as it will probably continue to be to the rest of mankind.—I thought it a piece of justice to his lordship to declare so much.

An author who keeps his name concealed, has this advantage, that he may speak truth

in favour of a *great* Minister without flattering him; and he may speak truth against the enemies of a *generous* Minister, without offending him.

But should I be mistaken in this last respect, there is no help for it: The Noble Lord must pardon me, and many more in the nation, if we feel for him those injuries, which he scorns to resent for himself.

T H E

APPEAL OF REASON, &c.

IN the political papers, which have lately been spread with such unusual and malevolent industry through all corners of the kingdom, in the menaces of the populace of *London*, and in the avowed sentiments of those of higher stations who encouraged and promoted both; we have seen our sacred Sovereign insulted, affronts thrown on one part of the united kingdom, and a Statesman equalling the magnanimity and moderation of *Aristides* injured.

At a juncture of such passion, can the voice of one who never engaged in the war of paper politics before, and who in all probability will never engage in it again; who, though he owns he speaks from sentiment, yet intends to speak from reason, expect to be listened to? But the exigency is important: Perhaps the future prospect still more important: And both should seriously be attended to by people, who chuse to be guided by their own reason, instead of being the sport of the passions, or what is worse, the tools of the interests of designing men, most of whom have not half the understanding and none of whom have near so large a portion as a half of the honesty of themselves.

An

An opposition regular, premeditated, and concerted in all its objects and operations, was last winter declared, by three heads of parties, against a minister; and it was declared to be personal against him. That minister, in order to take away all pretence for obstructing the just measures of government, and all complaints of partiality in the administration of a prince, whom, though said to be his friend, he remembers to be his sovereign, hath resigned all his offices. Hath that opposition which was said to be personal against that minister, ceased upon this resignation? No! his resignation is considered by his opposers as only the first step to victory; concessions, the effect of generosity, are construed by the ungenerous and the timid, into timidity; and other triumphs, far other triumphs, are intended, demanded, expected, and in imagination attained. The opposition then is not personal against the minister opposed: What then are the objects of it? Its objects are, and none can fail to see them, the personal and selfish interests of those who only made the minister the pretence to embarrass government, to distress a prince who would not distress even the meanest of his subjects, and to force themselves into power against the rights of the crown, and the interests of the people.

I say the interests of the people: And in order to see on which side this interest lies, let the actions and characters of the attacking and attacked, be examined by the people. To that tribunal the present appeal is made; and by its impartial and uninfluenced verdict, let the merits of both be determined.

The

The late minister was first known to this nation by his attention to the young and tender mind of a prince, who was afterwards to constitute its happiness or its misery, its glory or its dishonour : Great important charge ! in the right execution of which, the interests of millions, and of people yet unborn, and not of *Britain* alone, but of mankind, were concerned : He found a rich and a generous soil ; the manners and accomplishments, the sentiments and actions, and the large crop of princely virtues which that soil has produced, will best shew, whether it has been spoiled by the culture of art.

If at that time the late minister had views of a future eminence in power, which without much self-partiality he might pretend to, which however it is certain he accepted afterwards unwillingly, and which he has since, in the plenitude of power, greatly resigned ; did he, during its early state, cramp the royal thought, in knowledge and preparation for business, in order to make himself more necessary, when capacity would be needed, but could not be found on the throne ? Those who know what were at that time, the exercises and occupation of a court, which the petulance of faction has since called a subordinate and an idle court, can best answer the question ; and they do it. The study of the external interests, and internal constitution of *Britain*, of its finances, of its commerce, and if I am rightly informed, even of its private police and laws, so far as it was necessary for a statesman to know, or proper for a king to study them, were pursued by the royal student, with more inquisitive and unrelenting application, than are commonly bestowed on those objects of knowledge and business, by the sons of subjects, whose views in life or whose professions make application, in
them,

them, a matter of necessity. It was in such a subordinate court, that *Marcus Antoninus* learned to imitate the Deity, and to make human kind happy, though subjected to an universal monarchy: It was in such an idle court, that Queen *Elizabeth* drank deep the lessons, which enabled her afterwards to secure the liberty, religion and commerce of *England*; to make it formidable to foreign nations, though more powerful than her own; and to withstand the efforts of domestick factions, when she knew she had done nothing to lose the hearts of her people, attempted in vain to be inflamed against her.

Or if in this state of privacy, the late minister entertained the aspiring views with regard to himself, on account of which he has since been blamed; did he instil the early ideas of despotism into the mind of a young prince, that by them he might afterwards confirm and make terrible his own power? A power which his opposers, now so fierce because there is no danger, would then, when there was danger, have been the first to crouch under. No! the fair ideas of a free people, unacquainted with arbitrary power, were transferred from *Greece* and *Rome*, into the mind of a youth, who was one day to become the most powerful monarch in the world. The effect answered the design: Feeling the sentiments of liberty glow in his breast as a man, the ingenuity of youth made the honest conclusion, that there was true greatness in supporting liberty as a king. He gloried in being a *Briton*; because to be a *Briton* was to be free: He is what many of his subjects only pretend to be, he is a patriot. Hard return from some of his people, that he who from nature, principle and reflection, abhors the thought of enslaving others, should

should be the only person in his kingdom who is not himself permitted to be free !

Let me suppose that some of those who think it was they that tore the minister from the monarch, and who would still tear the friend from the man, had been, during the period I am speaking of, in the situation of him they oppose : How would their hours have been employed, in that leisure which gives time for projects dangerous and dark, and which fosters only ambition in ambitious minds ? In the researches of knowledge ? In the pursuit and resolution of virtue ? Ah no !

Far other dreams their guilty souls employ,
Far other raptures of unholy joy.

To create jealousies betwixt the two courts, and on those jealousies to become important ; to bring down sufferings on themselves, and from those sufferings, assume merit ; to create two great factions in the nation, and enlist every discontented spirit, every desperado in political project, and even in fortune and character provided he had birth, under the banners of the heir of the crown ; to raise suspicions in a heart ingenuous and a stranger to mean passions ; and bring every one who disliked them, and whom they disliked, under the cloud of those suspicions ; from suspicion to raise hatred, and to make him who should know himself to be the father of his country, and his subjects to be his children, prepare to act as if he lived among enemies, and reigned over traitors ; these would have been their studies, these their cares and employments.

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“ God forbid that the King of *France* should remember the injuries done to the king of *Navarre*,” said *Henry* the IVth to a courtier, who reminded him of the injuries formerly done him, by a person on whom he was then conferring a grace. “ God forbid that the P— of W— should believe he had a single enemy in his “ grandfather’s kingdom,” was the sentiment, if one may gather men’s sentiments from their actions, not ostentatiously pronounced, but unaffectedly and sincerely felt, by the E— of B—.

The modesty and reserve, the manner and manners observed at that time, at that as it is called subordinate court, in the most critical of all situations, so as not to rouse the natural jealousies of an aged, and not to indulge the natural fallies of a youthful set of courtiers, exhibit a lesson of attention among princes, and of duties in private families, which is seldom to be found in the history, or in the observation of mankind. There were more politicks in every the most paultry corporation, and more intrigues in every house that had five thousand pounds a year to inherit, than there was in the court of the second person in the kingdom, and who was soon to be the first.

Was this pretence, affectation, timidity ? The conduct of his Majesty when he came to the throne, and of his advisers who might have thought of coming then into power, will shew it was not. The three persons, who at that time were the most conspicuous in the favour of the crown, and who now are the most conspicuous in opposition to its measures, were, one of them allied

allied to the crown ; another accustomed to influence the crown's subjects, with its own influence, to rank in party with him, and not with it ; and a third enabled to wield all its external force, by having inveighed long against, and then complied in every thing with it. The portraits are not overcharged in any particular : To the first, every consideration that is decent among princes, and every duty that is proper among relations, and even the most delicate attentions were paid : To supplant the second would have put it in his power to do what he has since done, that is, create factions at home ; and to supplant the third might have induced a belief in foreigners, that because the ministers, the measures likewise of the late king were to be changed. For the sake of quiet so necessary at home, and of opinion, whether well or ill founded, of so much importance abroad, the crown yielded up its own independence, to what was imagined at the time, to be for the advantage of the nation ; and perhaps to a prince of so exquisite sensibility as his Majesty, veneration for the memory of the late king, appeared to be shewn in the continuation of favour to his favourites. They were continued therefore in their profits, influences, ranks and powers ; and at the pressing desire of some of themselves, the person so much afterwards complained of as grasping all for himself, accepted a station, which it would have been affectation to refuse ; and which, if it made him more than part of the mere furniture of a court, made him little more than the hand to direct with much fatigue, what other men had contrived and resolved on, perhaps with very little.

It is with men's minds as with their tastes ; there are antipathies in both : Brutal force has a natural antipathy to true magnanimity ; levity and uncertainty cannot link themselves with clear-sighted wisdom ; nor can insolence bear the silent reprimand of moderation.

One of the *Chefs de partie* I have last mentioned, without reason, provocation, or view, and against his own interest and honour, chose to cut in pieces the sacred bonds, which ought to have united him to the throne in love and duty. Modern politicians have been puzzled to account for this conduct ; an ancient one, *Tacitus*, who searched for political causes as often in the hearts as in the heads of men, and was seldom mistaken, would not have had the same difficulty : He, with his usual penetration, accounts for the hatred which an uncle bore to his nephew, *Tiberius* to *Germanicus* the son of *Drusus*, by saying, *Eorum causæ acriores quia iniquæ*. The whole passage in which he describes the situation of that nephew with that uncle, is inimitably and affectingly painted. “ *Interea Germanico Augustum decessisse*, adfertur. Iple *Druso fratre* “ *Tiberii* genitus ; sed *anxius occultis in se patrum* “ *odiis*, quorum causæ *acriores quia iniquæ*. “ *Quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum* “ *memoria*, credebaturque si rerum *potitus foret*, libertatem redditurus : Inde in *Germanicum* “ *favorem et spes eadem* : Nam *Juveni civile* “ *ingenium*, mira *cumitas*, et *diversa a Tiberii* “ *sermone*, vultu, *adregantibus et obscuris*. Sed “ *Germanicus*, quanto summæ spei *proprior*, “ *tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti*,”

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The violence of the warrior communicated itself to the statesman, and rendered him no less violent ; and because *Britain* already drained of men and money by a long war, without allies, and at war directly or indirectly with one half of *Europe*, would not, in order to raise the fame, or perhaps to indulge the fit of passion which one individual had got himself into in managing a treaty ; I say, would not against the faith of treaties, the decorum betwixt sovereigns, which may sometimes come in aid of a *jus gentium* already too weak, against all chances from the remonstrance of one side, and all room for explanation on the other, make immediate war for a punctilio of honour, upon a nation whose weakness is attachment to punctilio, but whose interest and inclinations are *British* ; the Phaeton of *Britain* descended from the chariot of power, which he complained he was not allowed solely to *guide*, before he had set the world in a blaze, and perhaps buried himself in its ruins. This man had often been heard to say that the powers of his mind lay in the direction of war : A dangerous declaration of character in the minister of a nation, that considers the only end of war to be peace.

When the lion scoured the forest, the ass thought it was his voice that had terrified, and would terrify the herd : The very ape of a high spirit arose in anger too ; but still it was in character ; for as the one statesman had resigned because he could not have war, the other statesman now resigned because he could not have money. He quarrelled with his sovereign, because his sovereign would not take from his subjects, already

ready sufficiently impoverished, a million of money more than he thought was needful for the exigencies of the state.—Strange ingratitude even in the ungrateful; and strange forgetfulness even in the forgetful! Can this nation lose the remembrance, that one minister declared war in a manner upon government, because his advice was not taken to plunder the people? That another minister endured the storm, to save that people? And that his majesty did, what no king ever did before, and what probably none encouraged by the consequence, will ever do again; that is, refused the public money when pressed upon him, and in a manner at his feet!

Moderation has its bounds: Pass the one line, it is affectation or timidity; pass the other, it becomes true magnanimity. In the injuries of his sovereign, the E— of B— felt those of one, who is not ashamed to call some of his subjects his friends; in the injuries of his country, he felt his own; but in the injuries of threatened faction, for himself he felt nothing. He resolved to step betwixt the state and its invaders, to deliver it equally from Quixots and prodigals. The same magnanimity that made him avoid power, made him now undertake it; and he became, for his king and for his country, what he had never intended to be for himself; he became the minister of *Great Britain*.

But when he appeared in that conspicuous situation, and his character could not fail to be seen in his actions, when he was forced at once to continue the old war, and to begin a new one, did it appear that his ideas of public oeconomy
arose

arose from narrowness of mind; or that his avoiding war till war was unavoidable, arose from want of vigour of spirit? Let the impressions made wherever the enemy lay open to impression, quick, determinate, venturesome, reiterated, tell. Let the *Havannah*, the *Manillas*, the recovery of *Newfoundland*, almost as soon as stolen, the annihilation of the *French* trade, the stabs at the vitals of the *Spanish* trade, and the protection of *Portugal*, tell.

It has been said, that in the attempt upon the *Havannah*, the late minister adopted an enterprize which another had resolved on. To me there appears high praise in the intended detraction; selfish considerations, or considerations of the consequences of events relatively to other individuals, are signs of a little mind in framing its resolutions in public affairs. If the expedition to the *Havannah* was to succeed, who was to claim the praise of it? Those who first resolved on it. If the success of the expedition was to fail, who was to bear the disgrace? Surely that minister, under whose incapable directions, for so they would have been represented, the expedition was executed. No person could be so blind as not to see these consequences relatively to himself and to others: But whether had these partial consequences any effect on the resolutions of L— B——? Or did the general good prevail in his mind? He balanced not, but hurried into action, subjecting himself to the disgrace, if that should happen, and careless who claimed or got the praise, if his country got honour.

War

War leads but to peace in rational minds, and even in minds as heroic as that of the king of *Prussia*, or as romantick as that of the fierce king of *Sweden*. This last great arduous task remained, under the orders of a prince who felt for human nature, to give peace to human kind; in order to avoid the difficulties of which, and the discontents it would be attended with, whatever it should be, Mr. *P*— had left the state to shift, as he thought, for itself. A populace ever for war, because they have nothing to lose; a gentry, some of whom intoxicated with victory, and infatuated by declamation, forgot in these, the wounds in their fortunes from the expences of war; a nobility, some of whom forming themselves silently into squadrons, watched with malevolent attention to take advantage of every event; a moneyed interest which knows well, that those who have money must always get more for it, as the nation more needs it; a popular orator, who could, unblushing and unfeeling, blast those very terms of peace, which had once by himself been accepted; were the obstacles foreseen, to any one who should dare to undertake the cause of human nature: But because it was the cause of human nature, and of *Britain*, this Noble Lord undertook it, in a perilous and critical hour, without hesitation, and equally regardless of his present power, as of his future safety.

What that peace was; what it has secured to *Britain*; and how little it has left that secure, which it gave back to the only enemy *Britain* had to dread, need not be said: Foreigners see it, though some *Britons* will not; and posterity will

will blush at such of their forefathers, as repaid its author with detraction.

But whilst this author of our peace was giving it to the nation abroad, her internal peace, a consideration of equal importance, was no less the object of his care : He attempted to abolish, what no minister since the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and perhaps not even in her reign, ever endeavoured to abolish, and what all have desired to keep up, he attempted to abolish the cruel distinction of friend and foe, to the government in *Britain*. To divide and command, was not his state secret against the subject ; but to unite and be beloved, was his open maxim for the crown. Even this generous attempt has been arraigned ; and indeed of all the wonders of this wondrous year, the most extraordinary is, to see men assuming the sacred name of patriots, exclaim against their prince for being, what all their predecessors in patriotism have exclaimed against former princes for not being, the king of his people, instead of the leader of a party.

Nor was it in the great operations of war and peace, that this minister was alone employed : Amidst the toils of state, and the uneasiness of faction, he was not unmindful of his first and his most pleasing companions, the Muses and Graces. Since the reign of *Charles* the First, and the ministry of Queen *Anne*, his present majesty and the late minister, have been the only profest patrons of the arts and of letters in *Britain*. Other ministers have had their artists or their authors, as they had their friends, ac-
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quaintance,

quaintance, or flatterers, by chance; but the E— of B— is almost the only minister who has considered the interests of the arts and sciences, as a system connected with the great vortex of national advantage, improvement, and glory.

To such politicians as oppose him, this language will appear ridiculous: Yet *Alexander* and *Augustus*, and the present king of *Prussia*, won full as many battles, or were in as many perils, as the warlike head of the opposition; two of them conquered the world, and the other has withstood three-fourths of *Europe*, though none of them ever conquered a part of the Highlands of *Scotland*; the first of them, however, kept up a correspondence with *Aristotle*, the last with *Voltaire*; both of them have been more vain of their talents in letters than in war: And the memory of *Augustus* has been preserved, in poets and historians, and even in statues, columns, and mausoleums; when without those assistances, the knowledge of his person, science, and magnificence, his management of parties by superiority of abilities, more than by the drudgery of personal intrigue, and his more splendid exhibitions of ambition and conquest, would have been buried in oblivion.—*Cicero* had at least as much eloquence, and as busy a life, both in youth and in age, as the eloquent and busy duke: Yet he could find time to write himself, and to read the writings of others. *Lewis* the XIVth had projects as vast, and of literature as little, as the great commoner who derives all from himself, and nothing from others: Yet though ambitious and unlearned in himself, that prince had the wisdom to see how much splendor might be
thrown

thrown on his reign, by an engine which he little understood, but of which he well saw the use : As fast as *Colbert* suggested, the monarch encouraged.—In this respect, *Britain* has, in the present reign, had the advantage of *France* : There has been no need of suggestion here : Here the minister had only to co-operate with the monarch, not to infuse ideas into his mind : They have honoured that known merit which the public had acknowledged, but neglected ; and some they have themselves called to light, from the shade, into which a delicacy of mind, the mixture of amiable modesty, and respectable pride, makes men of letters often to retire.

However votes may go in the political contest, they are all on one side here : There is not a scholar or artist of eminence in the nation, who does not very sincerely lament the resignation of the almost only prime minister they ever knew, except by sight or hearsay.

Such were the pursuits of this minister during his short administration ! What other objects he meant to pursue, are not altogether unknown to the public.

During his administration, an event happened, which in all probability will have as important effects upon *Britain*, as the discovery of the new world had, in a respective relation, upon *Europe* ; I mean the securing, or acquiring to *Britain*, near one half of that new world : A possession which will require all, and I doubt more than all the attention, which *British* politicians are capable of giving, with effective foresight, to

it. By his l——p's knowledge in a book, with which few ministers are acquainted, I mean the book of nature, he was enabled to discover views of commerce relative to those dominions, of great national advantage : It is said he had an intention, by the transportation of seeds and plants from every part of the world, to create in one or other of the soils or climates of those variously situated regions, all the articles of commerce that depend on vegetable production, and which make up by far the greatest part of the commerce of the world ; so as to enable *Britain* to carry on an extensive and independent trade, though she was to be stripped of all her other dominions, and though at war with half mankind. In some of the southern parts of our late acquisitions on that Continent, inquiries, it is said, have been already making, which shew a probability that in them might be propagated or introduced, almost all the products of the *East-Indies*, of the *West Indies*, and of the southern parts of *Europe*.

Even this branch of his l——p's knowledge, a knowledge always innocent, even elegant, and to human kind, useful, has been ridiculed by men who could spend half their days at horse-races, gaming-tables, cock-fights, boxing-matches, or in the equal frivolity of continual state entertainments. I cannot go quite the length with *Swift*, as to say, that the man who can make three piles of grass, or three ears of corn grow, where only two grew before, confers a greater benefit on mankind, than all the race of politicians put together : But sure I am an amusement of this sort, to fill up the vacant hours

hours of a man of fashion, is more rational than those amusements, which hurt at once the minds and the manners of those employed in them.

But what none can ridicule either in the man or in the minister, it is said, that for those distant regions, officers were in the plan of government intended, not to repair their own fortunes out of the ruins of provinces, whose fortunes they were sent to secure; not to abuse the powers of the crown at one time, and surrender them at another; the one in the exercise of extortion, and the other in return for the establishment of salaries, most foolishly at the mercy of the province: But officers were intended, men of large and liberal minds, who would quit the pleasures of their native land, to become benefactors to mankind; who considered those acquisitions as the seeds of infant nations, in which God and nature were interested, and for which to God and nature they were responsible; who saw in even their *Indian* inhabitants, human creatures like ourselves, and through all their barbarity, possessed of qualities, which it were better for us we had never lost; who had studied the laws and interests of the provinces, both relatively to themselves and to *Britain*, which they were sent to conduct, before they would agree to conduct them; and who were knowing in the natural world, its productions and the uses to which these might be made subservient, as well as in the moral and political.

One chief advantage of the impressions made during the course of this war, is the knowledge acquired of the enemies countries, their weak-

ness and their strength : But this knowledge dies with those who invaded and conquered them, if their reports are not secured for posterity. Constantly employed in personal attentions at home, the ministers of this country have for a long time never looked abroad, but when they were forced to it : The lights which were acquired in war, were forgotten during peace ; so that each new minister came a child in this kind of political science into administration ; to learn not to instruct ; to enquire, because not formerly informed ; and by that enquiry, perhaps to disclose the stroke he means to strike. It is said of the late minister that he had sent, or was sending directions, to all the places of the enemy, now in the possession of *Britain*, to make plans of their fortifications, harbours, natural strengths, and natural weaknesses ; to examine where in future wars impressions might be made ; and to know the numbers, occupations, and manners of their inhabitants : And it is believed that the reports, made in consequence of these directions, were to have been compared with the testimonies of all who could judge of their justness, or throw fresh lights upon them. The effect would have been, that in a future war, the enemies of *Britain* might have felt the arm of the E— of B—, after that arm was in the dust.

From the same principle of acting with foresight, and not from the pressure of occasion, part of his plan of administration is said to have been, to mark the characters of men that would be of use to the state, and their uses in it ; for the best intentions and measures will be in vain, if men cannot be found fitted to execute them.

It

It is the fault of the governor, and not of the governed, if in a country like this, wherein talents and industry abound, the nation is not served as it should be : But it is too late to call for assistance, when difficulty or danger is at the door ; that assistance should have been ready and prepared before they came there. To send ambassadors ignorant of the language and manners of the country they were sent to ; to call men to manage the state, because they could manage an election ; and to expose our infirmities all over *Europe*, by begging generals where they were not to be found ; has thrown ridicule on a nation, whose ministers only were to blame. It is in public business as it is in private ; men must be formed to it with care ; each man has his peculiar genius ; nor are the talents of one man fitted for all things : The minister who distinguishes that genius, and those talents, and who points them, where by use they may become double in strength, will have seldom occasion in excuse of miscarriages, to say, “ that he could not find “ better hands to employ.”—But fatal for this nation, and injurious to individuals, has been the rule of choice, that none are allowed to act for the public, except those who can vote for the minister ; from whence this consequence has followed, that men must be chosen for offices, just as the chance of faction throws them up. No country can count on the duration of its character and glory, except where every citizen in his rank, like the earlier citizens of *Rome*, knows his duty, and can take his post in the public service at a call ; and that nation will be certain of those honours longest, where, as in that republic,

lick, men fit for dictators, are not ashamed to retire into a private station.

The nation has heard, and it knows, so much of the intentions of the late minister, with regard to public oeconomy, that it would be improper to recite them : What he could, he did : What he did not, he was prevented from doing : And however incredulous a few people may be, there are three circumstances which will always beget belief of his sincerity : One, that he had made a promise of oeconomy to the nation ; another, that he never yet broke a promise ; and a third, that he had, what few ministers have, he had a character to lose.

But in vain will be the best formed character of a prince ; and in vain the greatest attentions to the interests of the nation, with regard to her quiet, external and internal, her trade, her colonies, her knowledge of her enemies situation, her cultivation of the arts and sciences, her choice of spirits in and for employment, and her plans of domestick oeconomy ; I say, in vain will be all that blessing, and those attentions, if the nation that has them cannot defend them. To the only measure that can afford with certainty that defence, and give security and permanence to liberty, in this temple of liberty, I mean the establishment of a national and well-regulated militia, his l——p was a sincere, an unaffected, and I imagine he would pardon the expression, a partial friend. Without this shield, *Britain*, great as she is, must one day fall, as greater empires have done, either a victim to a sudden foreign invasion before she is prepared, if she has
no

no standing army ; or a victim to a tyrant at home if she has ; or perhaps to that standing army itself ; as *England* did to *Cromwel's* army upon the death of *Charles* the First ; and as the *Roman*, the *Ottoman*, and the *Russian* empires did, or are doing, to the Prætorian bands, the Janizaries, or the regiments of guards. The example of all history, points out the truth of these propositions : All reflection confirms them : And none but those who are deceived themselves, or have an interest in deceiving others, can deny them. Was that minister then no friend to *Britain*, who would protect her for ever, if such an expression may be used with regard to any thing on earth, from foreign bondage ? Was he a slave to a king, loving and revering that king as he does, who would put a sword into the hands of every freeman to defend his freedom ?

This minister was blamed for partiality to the country where he was born :—I wish I could not touch upon this string.—*Homo sum, nil humanum a me alienum puto* : A Briton, nothing that is *British*, is to me indifferent.—That militia which *England* has, he gave not to his country.—The mark which distinguishes freemen and slaves, still remains.—Perhaps this alone, of all his reflections on his past conduct, that he quitted, from however necessary a complaisance, even for a moment, what his soul approved of, gives pain to a heart jealous of honour, and delicate as his is.

I shall conclude with a thing very singular in this extraordinary personage : Never accustomed to speak in public till he was past the middle age

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of life, and called then at once to debate in the most august senate in the world, and in the most difficult and trying situations, he spoke with the same readiness, ease and freedom, as if he had been accustomed to plead or debate in public all his life : This shews that the power of speaking flows not so much from habit as *Demosthenes* thought ; and that besides the necessary graces of person, voice, and motion, true eloquence lies chiefly in a sound head, and a warm and firm heart.

Such was the character, the actions, or the intentions of a minister who resigned power to prevent discord, and would resign life, as *Otho* did, to ensure its not returning. Another ministry have succeeded, who directed by the same prince, will in all probability follow the same views of government. To them too, an opposition is raised by ——— What a junto ! Men so “hackneyed in the ways of men,” as *Shakespeare* expresses it, that all the bawds of *London* got together, to descant on the beauties of female virtue, could not make a more ridiculous and unnatural figure than those men, met to take the sacred names of patriotism and reformation in vain.

At the head of these appears, painful pre-eminence ! one allied to the throne, yet endeavouring to weaken it ; joining with men who have often duped and betrayed him, to trouble that sacred fountain, from whence his own honour, and his own importance is derived ; one asking, obtaining favours to increase his influence, but spoiling the manners of a country,
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by inculcating ingratitude on those who received them.

The next is one, who to the astonishment of the rest of *Europe*, has without capacity, good faith, or decorum, continued in power, of one kind or other, for thirty years, in a country noted for the good sense and knowledge of its inhabitants, their adherence to truth, and a *vultus et morum gravitas*, which foreigners are apt to think, has more of the severity of the *Spartan*, than the dignity of the *Roman* in it; getting and holding that power, only because men of better parts accounted it no superiority in his hands, and could not adjust among themselves, who should be allowed to take it from him. Though a minister, yet absolutely ignorant of the external or internal interests of *Great Britain*, either in war, politicks, trade, legislation, or even those finances in which his whole life has been imagined to be employed. This arch politician has given a sad lesson to future adventurers in party, that all these wants may be supplied, in the character of one who administers the affairs of a great kingdom, by the poultry talent of managing, or rather of cajoling individuals; breaking promises from that weakness of temper from which he had made them; keeping almost none, except when he had forgot them; disobliging one man by forfeiting his word to oblige another, and then losing that other, by repenting and endeavouring to keep his word to the first. This very disorder, procured him a numerous following and patient attendance, from men, who trusted to the ordinary rules of chance for success, and who found the chances equal,

whether they took pains to deserve it or not. Having squandered a vast fortune of his own, from carelessness, in private prodigality; this very prodigality was pleaded by his adherents, in excuse for his carelessness in national oeconomy; and that man was thought by prescription, entitled to break his engagements with the public, who had never kept any with his creditors. Encouraged by the number of such adherents, and by such indulgencies, this grotesque personage has at last, in *Colley Cibber's* phrase, "outdone
"all his own outdoings," by deserting his sovereign, because he was not allowed to make the nation bankrupt together with himself; and deems it a hard return for all his services, and all his merit, that he is not permitted in his age, as in his youth, to bribe the king's subjects, with the king's money, to stand by him, against the king.

The last of the Triumvirate is the most extraordinary actor of all, from his talent of imposing upon the common sense of mankind: A character so full of contradictions, that whoever draws it justly, cannot avoid the quaintness of perpetual antithesis. Truth and virtue, simple in themselves, and consistent, are best described in a simple style; but in delineating this *Proteus* in both, such colours must be employed, that however true they may be, they will have the appearance of being artificial; inveighing all his life against pensions, yet pensioned; an enemy to placemen, yet running through the lucrative and great offices of the state; raising himself into fame by railing at continental connexions, yet half ruining the nation to support them; a furious

rious friend to the militia at one time, a concealed foe to it at another ; opposing it in one part of the kingdom, and never encouraging it since it was obtained in the other ; treating one king with indecency, and then turning his slave ; treated by another king with respect, and then insisting to be his master ; insolent in parliament, yet overawed by a spirit, like to that of which he himself first set the example ; arraigning that plan of taxation, which himself had commended, and those terms of peace which himself had accepted ; could it be thought that such an inconsistency of action and sentiments, would not have forfeited, long ago, all credit with the nation ? It would ; one circumstance alone, has prevented that consequence :—The affectation of popularity. Not what was morally right or wrong with regard to individuals, not what was politically wise or foolish with regard to the measures of state, have been objects to him in administration ; but what pleased or did not please the present humour of the people : Their interests he considers not, he regards not ; to their imaginations alone, he pays attention ; and would flatter their passions, though it ended in their ruin : For this he long treated with indecency of abuse, the native country of his sovereign ; for this he adopted with warmth the popular character of the king of *Prussia* ; for this he condemned on popular appearances, Generals unheard, and shut the common gates of pity against them ; for this he would have plunged his country into a new war without immediate necessity, and continued the old one as long as there was a mob to huzza it ; and for this perhaps, under the guise of national distinctions, he, at the present period, endeavours

deavours to stir up the jealousies of one part of the kingdom, against another indissolubly united to it. He is the first person, who since the days of *Cromwell*, has formed popularity into a system; and like him too, he has employed the artifice of quackery to secure it, or to recover it when it was flying from him.---Perhaps I judge amiss, but to me, who look at high persons with the eyes of a future historian, as if they were already off the stage, there has always appeared a great similarity (the difference in eloquence excepted) in the characters of those two persons; the same daringness of ambition; the same vastness of project; the same luck of situation, which made men mistake the natural spirit of the nation arising of itself, for the artificial effect of their spirit, who had the good fortune to direct it: The same intolerance of an equal in affairs; the same depth and unsociableness of selfish design; the same assured confidence upon the assumption of a new character or conduct, opposite to that which they had formerly assumed or held: The same personal resolution, mixed with accommodation to the humours of the time, and with no small degree of imposture, artifice, and quackery: And had the occasions which offered themselves been the same, I suspect the similarity had been yet more complete. It has been in this glare of popularity, that the inconsistency of conduct I have mentioned above, has made its escape from the observation of mankind in general; for let one be possessed but of that, and his inconsistencies, no not even his crimes, shall be perceived: A thousand and a thousand people, accounted that action meritorious in *Crom-*
wel,

wel, which we of soberer minds, look upon with detestation and horror.

Such are the heads of the present opposition; and from the heads of parties, the nature of the members may generally be guessed; yet some they have drawn in, to appear, for I hope it is but an appearance, to join with them of a very different stamp; men loyal and moderate, who have served their king and their country, and are respected by both; their errors arise from prejudice, not from intention; and as they act from principles, which though mistaken, appear just to them, they are justified in the eyes of the nation. From such men there is no danger to be dreaded; their race will soon be run; it will not pass the goals either of loyalty or liberty; and when they return to the constitution and their king, they will be received with that pleasure, which virtuous minds feel, on seeing the good separate themselves from the bad.

Having drawn, though perhaps in a strong, yet I imagine in a true light, the figures of the parties in the present contest; it remains for the nation to enquire, what interest *it* has in the dispute, and what *it* is to gain by the success of this opposition.

In order to judge of this, we must first look at the *means* by which it has been carried on; for foul means seldom lead to fair ends.

One of the means has been, to hunt on one man, who is scandal to his own, which is the purest of professions; and another, who is a
profit

profest libertine in principle and action, and lost to all idea of character as a man or a citizen; to tear in pieces the character of one, if in nothing else respectable, yet venerable for his virtue. A party that calls itself a *great* one, has stooped to give encouragement and countenance to such unworthy and desperate engines; and their papers, fraught with falsehood, and with treason, have been handed with the sanction of a party, and a pretended respect, like the words of holy writ, through the land.

Another unconstitutional engine made use of by this party, has been the Mob, a Mob which will ever be ready with their tongues, and perhaps with their hands, at the call, or at the hint of one addicted to the vices of the populace, and favouring them; of another accustomed to head Mobs in his youth; and now coming like *Marius*, again in his age, into the *Campus Martius*; and of a third, who has all his life, made that Mob his God. By such men, or with the approbation of such men, which is just as bad, a furious populace has been stirred up by popular arts, to meddle directly in state affairs, which the constitution hath put into other hands; to bring the hazard of assassination upon a minister, of whom they know nothing but the place of his birth; and to insult that sovereign who pardoned and pitied them. When an engine, dangerous and unmanageable like this, is made use of in the attempts of private ambition, it is full time for the orders of the state to look to their own interests, and those of the constitution; the Crown to its rights; the Peers to their dignities; and the Gentry to guard that distinction of ranks,
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in the confusion of which, though they may gain something, they will lose more ; for should such licentiousness be allowed a fair weapon of party in *Britain*, adieu to all national justice,---public effort,---rank,---or government in the state. A *British* Mob, like the populace of *Rome*, if it one day erects altars to the killers of the tyrant, may the next day set fire to their houses, with the brands of his funeral pile :---Like the populace of *Athens*, they may make it death by law, to apply the revenues of the state to the uses of it, or to any use but that connected with their own amusement or vices :---Like the populace of *Naples*, they may make a fisherman their king ; or like some of the antient *Democracies*, they may, by a single vote, doom to banishment every person of rank in the state.---Like the populace of *Holland*, they may tear in pieces a *De Wit*, whose memory their posterity blesses ; for it is not to be expected, that like the populace of the Blue and Green factions of the lower Empire at *Constantinople*, they should be constantly turning their arms against each other, for the sake of a particular colour, and yet should so invariably preserve their duty to the head of the constitution, as never once, in the disorders of faction, to turn their arms against him.

These are dreadful examples, but good reason has been given for quoting them ; and such events have happened as call for the reflexion, the attention, the foresight, and the indignation of the nation : Those who ungenerously use this poisoned dagger against innocence that suffers, and complains not, are the assassins of their country. The seeds are sown ; but who

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may

may eat the bitter fruits, God knows ; and may God avert.

One danger may be foreseen to the constitution, without going to *Rome* or *Greece* for examples, should the excesses of this year be repeated in the reign of a prince less righteous than his present majesty. Those around the throne are apt to feel its injuries, when it would more prudently neglect them itself. Should any personal and grievous insult offered to the sovereign, carry the resentment of his attendants beyond bounds, the first platoon fired by a passionate or mad officer, might annihilate the constitution of *Britain*. Cowardly and base, every mob will sink under chastisement: A dangerous secret this for a prince of a violent temper to find out ; he will think that his people are like his mobs ; and he will deem it so much easier to guide by guards than by laws, that he may never after think any more of the latter. When that is the case, liberty may suffer in the cause of licentiousness, and be lost in the power of the king on the one side, or the disorder of anarchy on the other ; and thus the first stab to a constitution, contrived by so many wise, guarded by so many good, and defended by so many brave spirits, may be given, through the sides of the weakest, wickedest, and basest of the nation.

Such being the *means* made use of, it falls next to be considered what are the *ends* of those who used them. One, and but one great, fixed end, they have, “ to make themselves high, by making the crown and the constitution low.” They have each of them his end, and it is known :

known: One of them aims at getting into his hands the direction of the army; another that of the treasury; the third, that of the state; or in other words, with regard to this last, the power of precipitating the nation before three months were elapsed, into a war (for war is his province too) with any, or all of its neighbours, whenever an idea of fame to himself, or even a fit of passion shall arise in his breast.---But in this particular end of each particular leader, what interest has the nation? Is that army which has carried conquest wherever it carried its colours, to be taught to conquer by one, who endeavoured to break the gallant, free, natural, independent, spirit of the *English* gentleman into a mere machine; beat himself in every field, stopped in the very few advances he ever attempted to make, cut off in every retreat, bringing certain destruction on every town he endeavoured to relieve; never conquering but once, and in that conquest accused of shedding after victory, with pleasure, that blood, which the law sheds with pain, and which the sovereign whose crown had been attempted, grieved he could not save; running away from a victory which he knew not part of his troops had obtained, and thereby losing a battle in spite of his army; surrendering a whole army to an enemy, which that same army a little after, when under another general, drove before it with ease; and in short, conducting the war in such a manner by land, that if it had been conducted in the same way by sea, *England* and *Holland*, might have been before now, provinces to *France*. Are these guardians of the manners, and of the laws, to reform the one, or give vigour to the other? They! one of whom formed

corruption into a system, and made his house the great shop of political barter to the nation; and all of whom have trampled upon the laws by the illegal means of opposition they have used! Are these patriots to support the constitution? They who are endeavouring to debase one part of it, and to substitute themselves in place of the other two; men who would make the nation believe, that there is a fourth part of the legislature, hitherto forgot by lawyers and historians, *to which homage is due*, and that the pretenders to be ministers, make a branch, and the most important branch too, of the constitution! Do these champions of liberty seek a power of protecting it? They! two of whom are known to be enemies to the liberty of the subject, and one of whom is only a friend to it, when connected with licentiousness! Do these protectors of the safety of *Britain* wish to spread a martial spirit through the nation, which, without that spirit, is too tempting a prey to continue long without invaders? They! of whom two thwarted, and one betrayed, the militia! Will these statesmen frame plans, for putting order into the finances for the future, like *Sully*; or for opening new veins of trade for posterity, like *Colbert*? They laugh at the very founds of *plan* and *futurity*! Will these oeconomists bend the labours of their life, to the sinking of the national debt, that great, great object of the minister, whose intentions in that respect they ridiculed? They who contracted that debt, and would yet contract more! They who made it such, that

*quantum vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.*

Immota

——— *Immota manet, multosque nepotes,
Multa virum volvens durando secula vincit.
Tum fortes late ramos et brachia tendens
Huc illuc, medra ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram!*

These lovers of the honour of their country in all things, where honour is to be got, would they breed an emulation among the ingenious, in order to retrieve the sunk reputation of their countrymen, and to make the *British* emulate the *Greek* and *Roman* name in arts as well as in arms? They! of whom not one, ever gave encouragement to literary, independent of electional merit; nor to any artist that deserved it, except on the mere account of fashion! So attentive to model the general spirit of the nation in those many different respects, will these men, so regardful themselves of personal dignity, give a more peculiar attention to the manners of people of their own rank in the nation; and form them, or let them form themselves, upon the pattern of science, politeness, decorum, and virtue, which they see in their sovereign? They! who would much rather enjoy the disorders of a horse-race, or gaming table; the vanity and intemperance of an every day's public entertainment; or the huzzas of a mob, though hired by themselves to huzza.

But supposing the opposition had those ends in view, which I am confident, and I dare say the nation is confident, they have not; what security, or rather what chance is there, that they could be fulfilled? To second the good views of government, there must be union in administration. But look at the heads, or even at the
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most of the members of the present opposition, and they suggest the very idea of disunion. Men hating and hated by each other, despising and despised, distrusting and distrusted, betraying and betrayed, have only joined together, and only hold together, like a gang of banditti, firm to the common interest, against the object of their common violence. In the present opposition, there are disagreeing characters, contradictory interests, and raging though latent jealousies. Like the race of *Cadmus*, the children of faction have sprung up they know not how; and like that iron race, they will destroy one another they know not when. If ever they shall conquer their antagonists, they will instantly turn their arms against each other: Much time will be lost in this second conflict; but will the interests of the nation be attended to during this time, by men who are playing such deep game for themselves? Or if in the end, one more artful than the rest should prevail over all, the same attention to himself, and the same inattention to the public, which enabled him to get into power, must be used to secure him in it. For the defence of one single fortress, that of his own power, he must employ every hour of his own time, every thought of his own mind, and every kind of talent he can find in every person around him; while in the mean time, the country around will be neglected, or perhaps spoiled; and he will not attend to it, or at least attend to it only as a secondary object, or as connected with the defence of that citadel I have just mentioned.

To prevent, or to crush, or if nothing else can be done, to disapprove and keep clear of factions

tions such as these, is the part of every lover of a constitution, which for many hundreds of years, hath given prosperity and glory to *Britain*, without the *props* and *aids* of men, who would *force* their services upon her, when she stands in no need of them, and seeks them not. Every such *pressing offer* of service, indecent in itself, if made good by the strong hand, is a blow to the constitution. It is a step to put a new constitution in the place of the old one. By the old constitution, the king had the choice of his own servants, and no man had a right to complain, till these servants had done wrong; and much less to insist that himself, and none other, should be put in their places: But by the new constitution, three heads of parties are to make the election for the king, and declare that election too in their own favour. In this light, I consider the present contest, not as the combat of individuals with individuals, but as the combat of individuals with the constitution: For if the present heads of parties, in order to *guide alone* (as one of themselves, with more honesty than modesty expressed it) the royal councils, should, against common duty as subjects, or common decency as men, by the noise of faction, and in some degree of sedition, force themselves upon the service of a prince, who gives full protection to all their rights as subjects, but does not chuse that they should be his masters; what would one third branch of our constitution be? A King? No. A Doge of *Venice*? No, not so much. He would be no more than a pageant of state, to be shewn now and then in parade, like the princes of the second race of *France*, in the hands of the *Maires de Palais*. A prince in that situation

tion might have scepters and swords of state, but other men would wield them. It might be said with truth of him, what is said in the figure of law of the head of the *British* constitution, that he can do no wrong; because then it would not be in his power to do either good or evil. We should have reigns, not of kings, but of ministers; and though their images would not be stamped on our coins, yet *their* actions and *their* anecdotes would alone be recorded in *our* annals.

What an exchange this would be for a constitution, in which the vigour of a people, the dignity of a nobility, and the splendor of a crown were united; and in which, each had power and weight enough to controul the encroachments of any one branch of the legislature upon another; let those who look back, without passion or prejudice, upon the attempts and beginnings of last winter and spring, consider; and consider well.

There are, who I hope do, and will consider, and stop the evil in its bud. The nation will not allow an oligarchy to be substituted in place of a monarchy: Nor will those men bear a dozen tyrants who could never bear one. When his majesty came to the throne, he called for the assistance of all honest men: Injured majesty seldom calls in vain: He will find that honest men will stand by him and the constitution, against all the efforts of faction, whether carried on by insidious and dishonourable arts, or bursting forth in the outrage of open violence. Fixed on that rock, his people's trust and love, the winds may
blow,

blow, and the waves beat, but the sun will shine out, the tempest cease, and he and the constitution will stand firm, and remain unhurt, as long as a patriot king shall reign over a patriot people.

With regard to the noble lord, whom I have so often mentioned before ; this country may seek him, when it cannot find him : His public actions, like the memory of the dead, may be the more revered, when they are no more to be exerted : But the examples of his virtues will animate the virtuous,---perhaps reclaim the malevolent : And a generous nation, just to his character while he is living, and grateful to his memory when he is dead, will more than overpay him for the injustice, or what he accounts only the mistakes, of a few of its individuals.

F I N I S.







